

The Central Committee of the Black Workers Congress, at its most recent meeting, took another step forward in attempting to more firmly adopt the method, stand and viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. Most significant in this regard was the decision to unfold the current "two line struggle" throughout the entire organization and encourage the full participation of all cadre; while condemning as bankrupt factionalism and 'mountain strongholdism' in any quarter. Further, just criticism and self-criticism was conducted around violations of democratic centralism and unity was reaffirmed that in no way could we go forward if we failed to practice vigilance around this question.

The present "two line struggle" and accompanying study and discussion which is taking place throughout the organization is a good thing. It is not a sign of weakness or degeneration but a sign of our strength; the strength which has been developed in the process of prior struggles; it is a sign of our maturity.

The current period of struggle and study will have a most positive effect on the continuing growth and development of our organization and the communist movement. Further, it will undoubtedly prepare us to play even greater roles in carrying out our tasks as communist and marching forward in the ranks of the anti-revisionist communist movement towards building a party of a new type, and leading our class to victory over its enemies.

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Why has the question of the internal life of our organization become so important in the present period???

The cause is to be found in the rapid deepening of the crisis of imperialism. Based upon our understanding of the program of Marxism, we know that crisis are inevitable under capitalism and that they assume greater proportions as capitalism sinks deeper and deeper into decay. Great changes are occurring in the world. Great changes are occurring in the U.S. The class struggle in the U.S. is daily becoming more intense. The imperialist have been forced to contract, so to speak. Such contraction is due mainly to the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; a contradiction of which the principle aspect is the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations. The U.S. imperialist, find themselves in a position of being unable to extract super-profits from abroad; nevertheless, by their very nature, they will always attempt to maintain a maximum rate of profit. So the situation in the main is one where unable to continue maximum exploitation abroad, the imperialist are forced to contract and attempt to maintain their rate of profit by intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the U.S. proletariat. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the bourgeoisie to rule in the old way. (the reader must be aware that the situation is not one where the imperialist 'take their licks and go home', they really attempt to 'regroup' and go back stronger than ever, it is this nature of the imperialist which makes the threat of world war very real.)

The increased attacks on the peoples living standards and their accompanying repressive measures have demanded ever increasing resistance from the working class. The year 1974 witnessed the greatest number of strikes in the history of the U.S., as ever increasing strata of the working class stepped forward, showing their willingness to fight the imperialist. Many of the strikes were wildcats and forced us to understand with greater clarity the words of Lenin: "The struggle against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism". So in as much as workers were forced to wildcat they fought the imperialist as well as their agents in the working class movement, the sell out trade union bureaucracy.

In the absence of a communist party to lead their fight, in the absence of any united course of action from the various tendencies of the anti-revisionist communist movement, the workers struggles have developed with a dominant spontaneous character. The attacks on and the resistance of the working class has exposed the pitifully small degree to which real communist influence exist in the workers movement. It has exposed how miserably we continue to lag behind the demands of the objective situation.

So it is then in this context that a "two line struggle" has come down front in the BWC. So it is in this context that we find ourselves looking inward - so to speak. In looking inward we find that we are still experiencing growing pains as a Marxist-Leninist organization (what we mean is lack of training in revolutionary work and lack of organizational skills, etc). We have defects in the internal life of our organization. These are defects which in the main have manifested themselves in a contradictionariness between our line as correctly stated and the incorrect way it has been put into practice by our different bodies. At this point let us briefly refer to Stalin on this question of defects:

"I have mentioned defects in our Party life that were exposed in the autumn of this year, and which brought up the question of improving internal Party

life. What are these defects in internal Party life? Is it that the Party line was wrong, as some comrades think; or that, although the Party's line was correct, in practice it departed from the right road, was distorted because of certain subjective and objective conditions?

"I think that the chief defect in our internal party life is that, although the Party's line as expressed in the decisions of our Congresses, is correct, in the localities (not everywhere, of course, but in certain districts) it was put into practice in an incorrect way. While the proletarian-democratic line of our Party was correct, the way it was put into practice in the localities resulted in cases of bureaucratic distortion of this line.

"That is the chief defect. The existence of contradictions between the basic party line as laid down by the Congresses (tenth, eleventh and twelfth) and the way our organizations put this line into practice in the localities - that is the foundation of all the defects in internal party life...

"I am also far from considering our central committee to be blameless. It too, has sinned, as has every institution and organization; it, too, shares part of the blame and part of the misfortune; blame, at least for not, whatever the reason, exposing these defects in time, and for not taking measures to eliminate them" - J.V. Stalin, Vol. 5, The Party's Tasks, p. 365, 367

What are some examples of these defects in our internal organizational life? There are several, but the ones which are most notable at present, deal with our theoretical understanding and practical application of the principles of democratic centralism; and our understanding of the need for a sound system of reporting and putting that into practice.

Comrades it would be an error to think that we could develop to perfection these organizational skills all at once. Such thinking is worthy of those who cling to metaphysics and cringe before the real dialectical movement of a process. The development towards mastering the application of democratic centralism and a sound system of reporting - necessary for adequate 'sum up' - is a process, and as such develops from the lower to a higher qualitative level. Why is it that these are such burning issues at present in the BWC? It is because our organization functions in a real living world and has developed from a lower to a higher qualitative level; and attempting to adapt ourselves, we have set greater tasks than those of the old periods. These higher tasks did not drop to us from the sky, but grew out of the real development of the class struggle and became recognizable to and adopted by us in the process of our participation in it.

What is then the difference between defects and deviations? The difference is that defects - lack of revolutionary training and organizational skill - are "entirely natural phenomena" in the beginning of various stages of a revolutionary process. These defects may be removed, provided they are recognized and a willingness exist to overcome them. Deviations on the other hand are defects which are regarded as virtues and a sham theoretical basis is built to support them. In other words, once a phenomena is recognized as a defect and a plan of action or line is adopted for its removal, and one still persists in perpetuating this defect, it ceases to be a defect as such and becomes a deviation, thereby requiring a different method of struggle. If we fail to recognize such differences, then we will make gross errors and treat Marxism domatically, in that we shall be unable to treat contradictions correctly. We will end up seeing all shortcomings as opportunism and all contradictions as antagonisms.

It is then in this context that we must reject as misleading those "ideological and political points" which while recognizing our inadequacies, see them as supportive of the assertion that the "left" deviation is the main danger.

Let us look at these points.

1. INADEQUATE UNDERSTANDING OF THE ORGANIC RELATION BETWEEN THE STRATEGIC TASKS.

What is meant by this? To begin with we have a line on this question which essentially says that all three tasks have to be carried out simultaneously, but the central one is Party building. Granted that we don't have reams and reams of paper detailing this; but, again we are Marxist-Leninist and we understand that once we set the general line it is further deepened in the course of putting it into practice.

Can the majority point to one document where the "organic relations between the strategic tasks" is not put forth and stressed in connection with the central task, (the party building study guide, the Communist, the document on factory nuclei, etc). It is unclear at this point, what our comrades of the majority are looking for and what are their searchings based on. It appears that they are looking for a blueprint, which they expect to be infallible, complete and --Stagnant. And that the reason for such searching does not correspond to the historic development of the class struggle.

2. DENIAL OF THE ROLE OF PRACTICE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL LINE AND THEORY

Strange isn't it that such points should be made by the same forces who now criticize every ounce of real practice. If by practice, the majority means

"practice" of the old type, where we worked with no plan, method or policy and bowed spontaneously to every spontaneous development; then the role of such "practice" is now indeed being denied and our majority is indeed correct in this assertion. If on the other hand the majority is saying that the: study circles with the advanced; the attempts to build factory nuclei; forums - most of them by the way, in conjunction with fund raising-which draw the advanced into the ideological struggles of our movement; giving revolutionary leadership to the other formations that we work in; etc.; if they do not regard this as practice and only see this activity in a negative light, then it is clear what forces are really denying the role of practice. Because this is the kind of practice which has and will continue to aid us in the further development and enrichment of our political line.

3. LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF LENINIST NORMS OF ORGANIZATION AND THEIR APPLICATION IN A MARXIST LENINIST ORGANIZATION

We will give our majority the benefit of doubt and not hold them to their words, so to speak. Because if we did, then this particular statement would make no sense, in as much as it implies that Leninist norms of organization are applicable to some other than a Marxist-Leninist organization. If they are saying, however, that we, a Marxist-Leninist organization, have committed errors in the application of democratic centralism, then that is definitely correct and all are agreed and we seem to have only one line on this question.

What we have tried to point out here, comrades, is that the listing of inadequacies do not have the desired weight which our majority attempts to attribute to them. Are we so naive as to think that there is a genuine communist party or organization anywhere in the world which does not have inadequacies. If we think there is, then we throw dialectics out the window. And by the same standard there is not a party which does not indeed struggle to overcome these inadequacies - just as our organization has done and will continue to do. I repeat, inadequacies exist and will continue to exist at each level of our development and a struggle must be conducted to remove them. But we must go forward.

Comrades, what is all this talk about inadequacies? We maintain that the present presentation of the two line struggle is a cover for conciliations to right opportunism, and is coming in the main from those in our ranks who dread the very idea of moving forward, and only can see behind them. What is all this about not understanding the organic relations between the strategic tasks, about denying the role of practice, etc? Comrades what is underlying all of this? We maintain that such mumblings amount to recognizing the central task as party building in words but rejecting it in deed. Notice that our majority puts forth nothing in terms of moving forward. They are rejecting the present organizational movement - everything is "left", the newspaper, our lines, our practice, etc.- thereby leaving the only movement that which in a backwards direction. We maintain that there is a tendency in our organization which refuses to get out of its bowing position and even enthusiastically invites us all to join it. We must decline their invitation.

In declining their invitation we must frankly admit that indeed we have made "left" errors; that there is a left tendency in our organization which must be fought; we must fight on two fronts. But we also must say, comrades at present, our main fire must be concentrated on getting you off your knees and resisting your attempts to have us all bow.

Comrades we must not dogmatically abstract from history the experiences of other parties. We study Marxism Leninism to grasp their method, stand and viewpoint and to apply this method in analysing our concrete situation. Stalin makes clear that the most immediate danger facing the party must be determined by the political requirements of the party at a given time. Not by any 1,2,3, this is wrong and that is wrong process.

Let us examine briefly again what the situation facing the Communist movement is and the requirements of the BWC within that context.

We are presently witnessing a growing revolutionary crisis. The bourgeoisie state of economic crisis internationally has compelled them to use increasingly repressive measures against the working class. This economic and political repression has been met only by scattered and spontaneous uprisings on the part of the working class. The political requirements of Communist in the U.S. at this time is to adapt ourselves to the new conditions of struggle, to develop the forms and methods of work that will allow us to link up with the struggling masses and make their struggles conscious class struggles. The present situation demands the ultimate Bolshevisation of our ranks, staunchness, discipline, and efficient methods of organization. This comrades is why the question of democratic centralism is burning at this time. What is the major force hindering our ability to meet up to our present task? We again turn to Comrade Stalin:

"The rights always raise their heads in a period of growing crisis. That is a general law of revolutionary crisis. The rights raise their

head because they are afraid of a revolutionary crisis and are therefore ready to do everything in their power to drag the party back and not allow the growing crisis to develop. Hence I think that since the French Communist Party has to mould new revolutionary cadres and prepare the masses for the crisis, its immediate task is to rebuff the rights and isolate them" Volume 8 Coll. Works J.V. Stalin Speech in th French Commission pg. 108

The situation in the Communist movement and the BWC is no exception from this general revolutionary law. Concrete expressions of the attempts to hold us back are manifested in such statements as "with the present line and leadership we are doomed", we have "fatal flaws", "there is a lack of confidence among our allies and within the BWC itself", everyone is demoralized, "cadre are going for long periods of time without carrying out organizational work", while at the same time asserting that the line just happens to be developing in spite of our grave situation. Then these people say they have no solutions to our problems (other than the replacement of a few individuals). Let us make what seems to be an inevitable conclusion to these assertions, THAT THE BWC SHOULD LAY DOWN AND DIE!!!

The bourgeoisie in control of the state and their alien ideology in the Communist movement will do everything in its power to divert the growing revolutionary movement from its correct path and defeat it. Our latest C.C. resolutions and the originators of the "left line" theory have not been able to justify their position with a Marxian analysis. The raging class struggle and its demands on the Communist movement finds no mention in any of their "thesis". We question how our Central Committee majority could make any determination on this question and at the same time say that they could not "fully substantiate it's views on the basis of Marxism-Leninism".

Comrades our starting point in examining any question is a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, the class struggle. Not a concrete analysis of the role of individuals, as some seem hung up on.

We do not attempt to negate everything there is most definitely a left tendency within the BWC as stated in our first issue of the Communist. This tendency is no less dangerous and must be struggled against. But it is not the most immediate danger facing us. The main thing holding back the BWC from exercising its influence is by no means because we are outstripping or jumping ahead of the objective political situation, inciting the method of direct assault in the absence of the party etc.

Comrades we are lagging behind we are unprepared if anything. This can easily be seen by the reaction of the bourgeoisie to us. The general reaction of the bourgeoisie is to smash the lefts, examples are the BPP, Watermen, SLA etc. because of their ultra left practices and vivid isolation from the masses. That is not to say that the bourgeoisie does not take us seriously but by no means do they take us as seriously as they should. Even they understand our weaknesses and unpreparedness.

In summary, it is our position that: the present discussion is a healthy sign; that the conditions for the discussion is the intense attacks by the bourgeoisie on the masses, the spontaneous character of worker resistance, both of which together means changes in the intensity of the class struggle and higher tasks for communist; that the basis of the discussion is defects in our internal organizational life --we see defects as part of a spiral consisting of defects (if uncorrected)-deviations-opportunism-defects-etc; that the present presentation of "the two line struggle" are blurred - the two line struggle is indeed between the two ways of looking at the objective situation and what it demands, on the one hand a tendency says we must go backwards to build the party and another says we must move forward, in essence a struggle over the general line of the BWC; and that the main danger at present is the the right deviation and its conciliatory attitude towards right opportunism.

We caution comrades, to make "concrete analysis of concrete things" and not make the error of trying to understand the BWC in isolation.

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The sharpest point class struggle is around the attacks on the peoples living standards and in this context we feel that the BWC must move forward with its trade union conference and set as one of the main objectives, a proposal for united action between the ~~differs~~ various groupings in our movement. In this way we will be going even further in our role of uniting the communist movement